

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-19 MBFR-04 SAJ-01 NIC-01 DRC-01 /136 W

----- 093924

R 141340Z SEP 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7414

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 13286

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, GE, WB, UR, UN

SUBJECT: UN ENTRY OF TWO GERMAN STATES: BERLIN

REF: (A) STATE 175633; (B) BONN 12486;(C) STATE 141012

SUMMARY: IN ACCORDANCE WITH REFTEL A EMBASSY INFORMED BRITISH AND FRENCH IN TRIPARTITE MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 5 OF NEW INSTRUCTIONS ON REPLY TO MALIK LETTER. US REP SAID THAT WE INTENDED TO INFORM THE GERMANS AT BONN GROUP MEETING WHICH WOULD FOLLOW THE NEXT DAY. HOWEVER, BASED ON APPROACH TO DCM BY BRITISH DCM, EMBASSY AGREED NOT TO INFORM GERMANS OF NEW POSITION UNTIL FRENCH AND BRITISH HAD HAD OPPORTUNITY TO REPORT TO CAPITALS AND REQUEST NEW INSTRUCTIONS. SUBSEQUENTLY, ON SEPTEMBER 12 US AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS AND BRITISH CHARGE MET TO DISCUSS MATTER. OUTCOME WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT FOR REPLY ALONG LINES REFTEL A WITH SOME BACKSLIDING BY FRENCH LATERN BONN GROUP. END SUMMARY.

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1. IN ACCORDANCE WITH DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTIONS REFTEL A,

US REP INFORMED FRENCH AND BRITISH OF CHANGE IN US POSITION IN TRIPARTITE MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 5. THE US REPRESENTATIVE STATED THAT WE HAD RELUCTANTLY DECIDED TO AGREE TO FRG REQUEST BASED ON THEIR STRONG DESIRE AS EVIDENCED BY NUMEROUS APPROACHES CULMINATING IN DEMARCHE BY VAN WELL. THE WRITTEN REPLY WOULD BE, HOWEVER, ON CONDITION THAT IT WOULD BE MADE AFTER UN ENTRY AND COMPLETION OF FOREIGN MINISTERS SPEECHES, WHICH WOULD MEAN EARLY IN OCTOBER. BOTH FRENCH AND UK REPS EXPRESSED STRONG DISAPPOINTMENT IN US CHANGE OF POSITION, STATING THEIR VIEWS THAT REPLY TO MALIK LETTER COULD POSSIBLY CAUSE GREAT DAMAGE TO THE WESTERN POSITION. THE US REP SAID THAT THE GERMANS HAD NOT YET BEEN INFORMED, THAT WE HAD FELT IT PROPER TO INFORM THE FRENCH AND BRITISH PRIOR TO SUCH A MOVE, BUT THAT WE INTENDED TO INFORM THE GERMANS AT THE BONN GROUP MEETING SCHEDULED FOR SEPTEMBER 6.

2. ON THE AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 5, HOWEVER, DCM WAS CALLED BY BRITISH DCM WHO REQUESTED THAT OUR NOTIFICATION TO GERMANS BE DELAYED UNTIL THE BRITISH AND FRENCH HAD OPPORTUNITY TO REPORT THE INFORMATION TO THEIR CAPITALS AND ASK FOR INSTRUCTIONS. THIS WAS AGREED.

3. SUBSEQUENTLY, ON SEPTEMBER 11, FRENCH AMBASSADOR SAUVAGNARGUES REQUESTED A MEETING WITH US AMBASSADOR AND BRITISH CHARGE SEPTEMBER 12. AT THE MEETING OUR

VIEW WAS REPEATED THAT WHILE THE BEST SOLUTION WAS TO DO NOTHING THE MATTER WAS OF SUCH OBVIOUS IMPORTANCE TO THE FRG THAT WE WERE NOW PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE IDEA OF A WRITTEN REPLY TO THE MALIK LETTER, BUT ONLY IF MADE EARLY IN OCTOBER AFTER UN ENTRY AND FOREIGN MINISTER PARTICIPATION IN UNGA DEBATE HAD BEEN COMPLETED. AMBASSADOR THEN PROPOSED THAT THE ISSUE BE TURNED OVER TO THE BONN GROUP TO PRODUCE A DRAFT USING THE UK DRAFT OF JULY 10 AS POINT OF DEPARTURE. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT NO REFERENCE WOULD BE MADE TO THE MALIK LETTER ITSELF BUT A REFERENCE TO THE SCHEEL LETTER
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SHOULD BE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED SINCE US UNDERSTANDING IS THAT FRG DESIRES SUCH A REFERENCE.

4. UK CHARGE HIBBERT EXPRESSED BRITISH VIEW THAT THE BEST THING WAS INDEED TO DO NOTHING AND THE WORST THING WOULD BE TO ACCEPT THE FRG REQUEST FOR A WRITTEN REPLY. THE BRITISH, HE SAID, ARE FEARFUL THAT ANY REFERENCE OR REPLY TO THE MALIK LETTER WOULD GIVE IT A

STATUS WHICH IT DID NOT DESERVE SINCE, IN THEIR VIEW,
THE ADMISSION OF THE TWO GERMANY'S TO THE UNITED NATIONS
WAS BASED SOLELY ON THE QA AND QD. FOR THAT REASON,
HE SAID, THE BRITISH SUGGESTED THE ANODYNE LANGUAGE
OF JULY 10 AS A POSSIBLE ORAL REPLY. HOWEVER, HIBBERT
CONCLUDED, IF A WRITTEN REPLY IS WHAT THE GERMANS WANT

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THEN PERHAPS IT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

5. AMBASSADOR SAUVAGNARGUES SAID THAT HE, TOO, HAD
COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE THREE ALLIES WOULD
HAVE TO GIVE IN IN THE END TO FRG ON A REPLY TO THE
MALIK LETTER.

SAUVAGNARGUES SAID THAT THE MALIK LETTER IS A DESCRIP-
TION OF THE QA IN A SLANTED WAY AND HE SUGGESTED A REPLY
WHICH WOULD INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO ANNEX 4 OF THE QA,
AND WHICH WOULD NOTE AND EMPHASIZE THAT THE SOVIETS,

IN ACCORDANCE WITH ANNEX 4.B.2, HAVE SAID THAT THEY WILL "RAISE NO OBJECTION TO..." HE SAID THE INCLUSION OF LANGUAGE ALONG THE LINE OF THE UK JULY 10 DRAFT, ESPECIALLY REGARDING "ENDORSEMENT," WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL. THE AMBASSADOR THEN STATED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO REFERENCE TO THE MALIK LETTER IN THE REPLY BUT THAT REFERENCE TO SCHEEL'S LETTER WOULD BE OPEN TO DISCUSSION. ABOVE ALL, HE NOTED, THE THREE ALLIES MUST CONFIDENTIAL

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NOT EMBARK ON ELUCIDATION ON THE SCOPE OF ANNEX 4.
6. AT SUBSEQUENT TRIPARTITE MEETING UK REP (CULLIMORE) NOTED THAT

LONDON WAS PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH THE MAJORITY VIEW ON A WRITTEN STATEMENT SO LONG AS IT WOULD BE SHORT, LOW KEY, AND IF NO REFERENCE WERE MADE TO THE MALIK LETTER. THE FRENCH REP (PAYE) SAID HIS EMBASSY HAD, IN FACT, RECEIVED NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS, AND THAT THEIR OLD INSTRUCTIONS--TO DO NOTHING--STILL STOOD. HOWEVER, HE SAID, AMBASSADOR SAUVAGNARGUES "WILL BE TALKING WITH PARIS" AND, WHILE HE (PAYE) CANNOT ASSURE WHAT THE FINAL FRENCH POSITION WILL BE, HE DOES BELIEVE THERE WILL BE "SOME EVOLUTION." PAYE THEN SAID THAT, BASED ON IDEAS HIS AMBASSADOR HAD SET OUT IN SEPTEMBER 12 MEETING AND ON UK JULY 10 TEXT, FRENCH WILL PRODUCE DRAFT OF WRITTEN REPLY FOR CONSIDERATION BY ALLIES. REPLYING TO QUESTION, UK AND FRENCH REPS AGREED THEIR REQUEST THAT US NOT INFORM FRG OF US POSITION NO LONGER IN EFFECT.

7. US REP SUBSEQUENTLY PRIVATELY INFORMED GERMANS OF CHANGE IN US POSITION, EMPHASIZING POINTS REFTTEL A. AT LATER DISCUSSION IN SEPTEMBER 13 BONN GROUP MEETING US REP MADE FULL PRESENTATION ON MALIK LETTER EMPHASIZING SAME POINTS. BRITISH REP (CULLIMORE) RESPONDED

THAT LONDON HAS INSTRUCTED HIM TO GO ALONG WITH A MAJORITY VIEW REGARDING WRITTEN STATEMENT AND TIMING. REGARDING TEXT, BRITISH HOLD JULY 10 LANGUAGE STILL TO BE BASIS FOR DEPARTURE, AND BELIEVE IT DESIRABLE NOT TO REFER TO THE MALIK LETTER. A REFERENCE TO THE SCHEEL LETTER, HE SAID, WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE SINCE THE BRITISH HAVE DIFFICULTY IN FINDING ANY OTHER PEG ON WHICH TO HANG A WRITTEN RESPONSE. THE FRENCH REP (PAYE) SAID THEIR VIEW REMAINS THAT IT IS UNDESIRABLE TO MAKE ANY REPLY AT ALL TO MALIK LETTER. AFTER EXTENSIVE FRG ARGUMENTATION ON MERITS OF WRITTEN REPLY TO BE MADE EARLY IN OCTOBER, FRENCH REP SAID HE WOULD REFER QUESTION TO HIS AMBASSADOR AND THEN TO

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PARIS.

COMMENT: GIVEN SAUVAGNARGUES' COMMENTS IN SEPTEMBER 12
MEETING AND FRENCH COMMITMENT TO PRODUCE DRAFT TEXT,
PAYE'S PERFORMANCE SEPTEMBER 13 SUGGESTS FRENCH EMBASSY
MAY BE HAVING DIFFICULTY IN CONVINCING THE QUAI.
HILLENBRAND

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN13286
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS HILLENBRAND
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730935/aaaaazmu.tel
Line Count: 236
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: (A) STATE 175633; (B) BONN 12486;(C)
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31-Jul-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <18-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: UN ENTRY OF TWO GERMAN STATES: BERLIN
TAGS: PFOR, GE, GC, WB, UR, UN
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005